1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

only by a sister), and *mukāi* (sister, spoken only by a brother). In a polygynous household each of the wives is mother to all the children and each of the children is *huva* or *manja*[1] to all the others. Illegitimate children are not stigmatized but since they belong to the mother they have a distinct designation.[2] Slaves or former slaves have a status within the household and village which to the ordinary observer does not differ from that of the children: they are treated much as the children and they may carry on in all matters social and economic much as though they were members of the family. I have noticed, however, that when there is a call for labour, the lot falls oftener to one of these 'children-born-by-day'[3] whether he was a war-captive or a pawn.

Both slavery and the polygynous household, two institutions manifestly and intimately inter-related, are still a part of the Umbundu social structure, but neither the one nor the other now has the importance which it formerly had. Neither of these institutions is part of the present and personal experience of the great majority of Umbundu households.

Kinship

Blood Relatives (*Epata*). The relationships of the wider kinship groups are for the most part extensions of those of the household. The child learns them very early in life owing to the fact that the village community into which he is born is only a part of this larger kinship group. Nearly all of the villagers belong to the same *epata* or extended family, which includes both lines of descent. Most of them belong to the father's family (*oluse*), and the mother's family (*oluina*) may also be represented. The fact is that most of the adults of the village are father or mother to nearly every child and most of the children are brothers or sisters. Those of his coevals who do not bear this relation to him are otherwise related and are also potential spouses or potential relatives-in-law.

[1] This distinction *yesepahai* (lit. 'of the jealousy of women') may be made but it is not applied in ordinary speech.

[2] *Omõlã a ngenda-la-ina* (lit. 'child of goes-with-mother').

[3] *Omõlã-vo-citiwo-lutanya*. Cf. 'child of my calves', Luganda expression and attitudes, L. P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1934), p. 32 f.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

is "pounded") and Cisengu ("a small bird with a long tail"). A boy may be Kangwe ("the little leopard").

Names sometimes give an indication of descent. Ngonga's full name is Ngonga Kalei Liahuka, Ngonga ("eagle"), Kalei ("one who works for the king"), Liahuka (the father's surname). Ngonga's sister is Cinyañala ("the old basket"). This was the name of her father's father's sister. As the father of Cinyañala is Liahuka, the daughter is surnamed Yaliahuka (*ya*, "of"). The father chooses the names of the three first children whether boys or girls. The mother chooses the name of the fourth child whether male or female. If the child is a boy, the mother probably chooses the name of her brother or of her father's brother. When a first son is born, the father usually gives the name of his father; for example, Ngonga's father's father was Ngonga. If the first baby is a girl the father chooses the name of his sister. Ages are not known, but reckoning of age goes back five years by counting the number of times maize has been sown; maize is planted each October. The period from sowing to sowing is *ulima*.

If a man has a child by a woman who is not a wife or a concubine, the woman keeps the child for eight or ten years. The man must give the mother a cloth in which to carry her illegitimate baby, also oil for her hair. Sometimes the girl will go to the father of her child to be his concubine, but her parents will not let her do so if he has a bad reputation. To bear a child out of wedlock is a disgrace.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

In preparing the following tables Ngonga was the ego, or, male speaker, and each term is given in relation to himself, with its reciprocal. The tables give firstly Ngonga's own generation, then his ascendants, and finally some of his descendants. Tables E and F are diagrammatic forms of tables A–D.

TABLE A

(See Table E III)

NGONGA'S OWN GENERATION

Terms in italics are Umbundu names either for persons or for kindred classes. Reciprocals are placed in brackets; W.S. means, "woman speaking."

Ukai wange is my wife; *uketu*, which means "spouse," is a modern form of address for husbands and wives when speaking to each other (*neyange*, my husband).

Kota or *huva* is my elder brother (*mume wange* or *manja*, younger brother).

Kota or *husange* is my elder sister. An elder brother speaking to his sister calls her by name, or he uses the term *mbuale*. When speaking of her he says *mukai wange* (*mume wange* or *manjange*, younger brother). The same terms are used in the same way to apply to my father's brother's son, and my